

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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R 301705Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5075
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 2776

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, ID, PO, PT
SUBJECT: 32ND UNGA: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

REF: A. USUN 1630; B. USUN 5834 (76) AND PREVIOUS; C. USUN 1630

1. SUMMARY: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR IS ON PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR 32ND UNGA. FRETELIN FIGURE HORTA IN NEW YORK HAS BEEN CIRCULATING DRAFT FOR UNGA RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR. INDONESIA'S MISSION, WHILE LOBBYING TO SHORE UP SUPPORT AT UN, IS LOOKING FOR A WAY TO END WHAT HAS BECOME AN ANNUAL AND AWKWARDLY CONFRONTATIONAL SITUATION FOR A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE NONALIGNED. END SUMMARY.
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2. COMMITTEE OF 24 DEBATE - COMMITTEE OF 24 (C-24) CONSIDERED EAST TIMOR BRIEFLY ON AUGUST 4. SPEAKERS WERE PORTUGAL (CHARGE QUARTIN-SANTOS), FRETELIN (RAMOS-HORTA, SECRETARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRONT FOR AN INDEPENDENT EAST TIMOR (FRETELIN)), AND INDONESIA (AMB MARPAUNG);

A. QUARTIN-SANTOS SAID PORTUGAL RECOGNIZED TIMOR TO BE "LAST REMAINING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY UNDER FORMAL RESPONSIBILITY OF PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT." QUARTIN- SANTOS ADDED: "IT IS A FACT THAT, BECAUSE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES KNOWN TO ALL WHICH ARE PREVAILING IN EAST TIMOR, PORTUGAL CANNOT FULFILL ITS DUTIES AS THE ADMINISTERING POWER OF THAT TERRITORY, NAMELY, TO ENABLE THE TIMORESE PEOPLE TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE, IN CONFORMITY WITH RESOLUTUION 1514 (XV) AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTION. " HE SAID PORTUGAL COULD NOT RECOGNIZE "DE JURE THE FORCED INTEGRATION OF TIMOR INTO INDONESIA." HE ADDED: "THE LIMITATIONS OF MY COUNTRY IN DEALING WITH THIS QUESTION ARE WELL KNOWN AND HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WHICH CLEARLY CONFERRED ON THE UN AN ESSENTIAL ROLE IN RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF TIMOR... AS MY DELEGATION HAS REPEATEDLY STATED, PORTUGAL IS WILLING TO OFFER THIS ORGANIZATION ALL POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN THIS CASE."

B. FRETILIN (HORTA), SPEAKING AFTER INDONESIA HAD ENTERED A STRONG RESERVATION TO HIS SPEAKING, SAID HE HAD BEEN "ENTRUSTED" TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF "THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT FOR AN INDEPENDENT EAST TIMOR (FRETILIN), THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR AND THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR." HORTA SAID: "WHILE WE BELIEVE THAT ONLY PEOPLE IN ARMS CAN BREAK THE CHAINS

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OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION, WE DO NOT REJECT PEACEFUL DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS THAT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE SAME END." HORTA SAID THAT 85 PERCENT OF EAST TIMOR WAS "LIBERATED" AND THAT 90 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE LIVED UNDER THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR. HE CONTINUED THAT THE FALINTIL (EAST TIMORESE LIBERATION ARMED FORCES) HAVE KILLED OR WOUNDED 20 THOUSAND INDONESIAN TROOPS. HE ADDED THAT FALINTIL HAD BEEN STRENGTHENED IN MANPOWER AND WEAPONS. WHILE EXPRESSING "STRONG SUPPORT" FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF INDONESIA WITHIN ITS "RIGHTFUL BOUNDARIES AS DERIVED FROM THE FORMER DUTCH EAST INDIES", HORTA SAID THAT "HISTORICALLY, ETHNICALLY, LINGUISTICALLY, AND CULTURALLY THE EAST TIMORESE PEOPLE FORM A DISTINCT INDEPENDENT NATION." HORTA ADDED: "FRETILIN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF EAST TIMOR WOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY TO ANY GESTURE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA TOWARDS NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR." HE CONTINUED THAT FRETILIN WOULD "WELCOME" A UN FACT FINDING MISSION AS WELL AS "INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS, PRESS CORRESPONDENTS AND RELIEF-AID ORGANIZATIONS." HE SAW THIS AS A "CHALLENGE" TO INDONESIA AND FRETILIN, BOTH OF WHICH HAD MADE "CLAIMS AND COUNTER-CLAIMS, CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES." HE CONCLUDED

THAT WHILE THE EAST TIMORESE PEOPLE WOULD ACCEPT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO END THE WAR IT WOULD NEVER "SURRENDER" ITS RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

C. AMB MARPAUNG DECLARED THAT INDONESIA WAS NOT REPLYING TO HORTA'S "FALSE AND IMAGINARY" ALLEGATIONS. MARPAUNG SAID THAT DECOLONIZATION HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT IN EAST TIMOR IN CONFORMITY WITH UN CHARTER AND RESOLUTIONS 1514 (XV) AND 1541 (XV). HE SAID THAT AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT BY THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNEMENT OF EAST TIMOR IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE "TRADITIONAL PRACTICE" OF THE EAST TIMORESE AND THAT ALL THIS HAD BEEN REPORTED TO THE UN.

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MARPAUNG SAID ANY FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION, CONSTITUTED "UNACCEPTABLE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A SOVEREIGN MEMBER STATE." MARPAUNG LISTED EFFORTS DIRECTED AT RECONSTRUCTION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH AND WELFARE IN EAST TIMOR, SAYING THAT THESE WERE BEING CARRIED OUT BY A LEADERSHIP COMPOSED OF EAST TIMORESE.

MARPAUNG NOTED VISITS TO EAST TIMOR BY DUTCH JOURNALIST ROBERT KROON, BY THE VATICAN'S REPRESENTATIVE IN JAKARTA, AND BY A US CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION. HE CITED THEIR COMMENTS AS EVIDENCE OF RESTORATION OF NORMAL CONDITIONS IN EAST TIMOR. WHILE MARPAUNG, IN CONCLUSION, CALLED UPON C-24 TO REFRAIN FROM ANY FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF EAST TIMOR, C-24 CHAIRMAN SALIM (TANZANIA) RESPONDED BY SUGGESTING THAT THE

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C-24 CONTINUE ITS CONSIDERATION AT NEXT SESSION, SUBJECT TO ANY DECISION WHICH UNGA MIGHT TAKE AT ITS 32ND SESSION. THE COMMITTEE ACCEPTED THIS SUGGESTION.

3. QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR AT 32ND UNGA- THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR IS ITEM 93 ON PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR 32ND UNGA. ITEM REFERS TO UNGA RESOLUTION 31/32 OF 29 NOVEMBER 1976 WHOSE FINAL OPERATIVE PARA WAS: "DECIDES TO INCLUDE IN THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA OF ITS THIRTY-SECOND SESSION AN ITEM ENTITLED 'QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR.'" THE VOTE ON RESOLUTION 31/32 WAS: IN FAVOR 68; AGAINST 20(US, INDONESIA); ABSTAIN 49 (REF B).

4. HORTA'S ACTIVITIES - HORTA HAS BEEN IN NEW YORK THIS SUMMER. HE HAS OFFICE AT MOZAMBICAN MISSION. AMB LOBO OF MOZAMBIQUE AND AMB FERENANDES OF GUINEA BISSAU HAVE INTRODUCED HORTA TO AMB. YOUNG. HORTA HAS BEEN CIRCULATING TEXT FOR A DRAFT UNGA RESOLUTION. HORTA REPORTEDLY WANTS A MODERATE TEXT LIKELY TO ATTRACT BROADER SUPPORT THAN 1976 TEXT. TEXT OF RECENT DRAFT GIVEN BY HORTA TO AUSTRALIA'S MISSION IS IN FINAL PARA BELOW. WHILE IN CONTRAST TO THE 1976 RESOLUTION IT AVOIDS LANGUAGE SHARPLY CRITICAL OF INDONESIA, HORTA'S DRAFT MAKES GREATER REFERENCE TO FRETELIN AND EQUATES FRETELIN AS AN EQUAL WITH INDONESIA IN RESOLUTION OF EAST TIMOR HOSTILITIES. IT EMPHASIZES SELF-DETERMINATION, CEASE FIRE, DESPATCH OF SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL AND ADMISSION TO EAST TIMOR OF INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE PRESS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS.

5. INDONESIA'S POSITION - INDONESIA'S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE SANI AND DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE MARPAUNG HAVE BEEN TRAVELLING IN CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA TO

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LOBBY SUPPORT. SANI HAS LAMENTED TO US THAT JAKARTA SEEMS TO EXPECT HIS MISSION TO DO ALL THE WORK ON EAST TIMOR

WHERE UN IS CONCERNED. SANI, WHO IS SEARCHING FOR A WAY TO GET EAST TIMOR OFF UNGA AGENDAS, HAS SOUGHT JAKARTA'S APPROVAL FOR VISITS TO EAST TIMOR BY INDIVIDUAL UN REPRESENTATIVES AS REPRESENTATIVES SOLELY OF THEIR COUNTRIES (REF C). AS YET JAKARTA HAS NOT APPROVED SUCH VISITS. SANI IS CONTINUING TO TRY BECAUSE HE FEELS THAT ON-THE-SPOT OBSERVATION IS THE BEST WAY TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT SELF-DETERMINATION HAS OCCURRED AND CONDITIONS HAVE BECOME NORMAL. SANI, WHO WAS IN TIMOR EARLIER THIS YEAR, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SMALL BANDS OF FRETILIN TROOPS OPERATE IN EAST TIMOR. HE THEN RECALLS THE EFFECTIVE HARRASSMENT OF THE DUTCH BY THREE OR FOUR-MAN UNITES OF INDONESIANS. HE ALSO HAS DESCRIBED THE PLIGHT OF SOME EAST TIMORESE HE SAW EMERGING FROM THE MOUNTAINS AFTER BEING HELD HOSTAGE BY OR HAVING FLED WITH THE FRETILIN. THEIR STARVED CONDITION REMINDED HIM OF THE INMATES OF BUCHENWALD OR BELSEN.

6. COMMENT: INDONESIA'S MISSION CONSIDERS THAT THE YOUTHFUL HORTA HAS MELLOWED AND MODERATED HIS STYLE CONSIDERABLY SINCE HE APPEARED ON THE UN STAGE IN LATE 1975. AS A RESULT, THEY REGARD HIM AS MORE KNOWLEDGABLE AND EFFECTIVE IN THE UN-WAY OF THINGS. THEY CONSIDER HIM AN AGREEABLE INDIVIDUAL AND HAVE OCCASIONAL CONTACT WITH HIM AND DO NOT OPPOSE OTHER MISSIONS MEETING HIM PARTICULARLY AT WORKING-LEVEL. THEY REJECT, HOWEVER, ACTIONS SEEMING TO GRANT RECOGNITION TO FRETILIN NOW THAT EAST TIMOR HAS BEEN INCORPORATED WITH INDONESIA. IN CONNECTION WITH LAGOS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE, INDONESIA'S MINISTER-COUNSELOR ABDULDJALIL TOLD MISOFF THAT, IF FRETILIN WERE INVITED, INDONESIA WOULD NOT ATTEND. ACCORDINGLY, HORTA'S DRAFT RESOLUTION WITH ITS FREQUENT REFERENCE TO FRETILIN WOULD SEEM UNACCEPTABLE TO INDONESIANS. ON THE OTHER HAND, AUSTRALIA'S MISSION BELIEVES THAT A FORMULA CALLING ON "ALL

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THE PARTIES CONCERNED" TO OBSERVE A CEASE FIRE WHILE NOTING
NEED OF EAST TIMORESE FOR PEACE AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE
MIGHT BE LESS SO. HOWEVER, FORMULA FOR TREATMENT OF QUESTION
OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN WAY ACCEPTABLE TO INDONESIA AND OTHER
PARTIES CONCERNED" WOULD REMAIN DIFFICULT. THEREFORE, ANOTHER
CONFRONTATION OVER EAST TIMOR INVOLVING A SPLIT IN NONALIGNED SEEMS
LIKELY AT FORTHCOMING UNGA. END COMMENT.

7. TEXT OF HORTA'S DRAFT RESOLUTION FOLLOWS:

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DRAFT RESOLUTION
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QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

RECOGNIZING THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-
DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES
OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES,
CONTAINED IN ITS RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) OF 14 DECEMBER 1960,

HAVING EXAMINED THE CHAPTER OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMI-
TTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES
AND PEOPLES RELATING TO THE TERRITORY,

HAVING HEARD THE STATMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PORTUGAL,

HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF INDONESIA,

HAVING ALSO HEARD THE STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE

FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIA DE TIMOR LESTE INDEPENDENTE (FRETILIN),

MINDFUL THAT ALL STATES SHOULD, IN CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 2, PARAGRAPH 4, OF THE CHARTER, REFRAIN IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE CONTINUING WAR SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY WITH LOSS OF LIFE AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTIES,

1. REAFFIRMS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR
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TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND THE LEGITIMACY OF THEIR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE THAT RIGHT;

2. CALLS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FRETILIN TO IMMEDIATELY OBSERVE A CEASE-FIRE AND TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE WITH A VIEW TO END HOSTILITIES AND ALLOW THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR TO EXERCISE FREELY THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE;

3. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SEND URGENTLY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO EAST TIMOR FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING A THOROUGH, ON THE SPOT ASSESSMENT OF THE EXISTING SITUATION AND OF ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FRETILIN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER STATES CONCERNED IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION;

4. REQUESTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES TO KEEP THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY UNDER CONSIDERATION;

5. CALLS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FRETILIN TO FACILITATE THE ENTRY INTO THE TERRITORY OF INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS, INCLUDING PRESS CORRESPONDENTS AND RELIEF AID ORGANIZATIONS IN ORDER TO BRING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR;

6. DECIDES TO INCLUDE IN THE AGENDA OF ITS 33RD SESSION AN ITEM ENTITLED "QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR".

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Message Attributes

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